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TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE
BRITISH EMPIRE, FRANCE, ITALY, AND JAPAN AND POLAND.¹

Signed at Versailles June 28, 1919.

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, on the one hand; and Poland, on the other hand;

Whereas the Allied and Associated Powers have by the success of their arms restored to the Polish nation the independence of which it had been unjustly deprived; and

Whereas by the proclamation of March 30, 1917, the Government of Russia assented to the reestablishment of an independent Polish state; and

Whereas the Polish state, which now in fact exercises sovereignty over those portions of the former Russian Empire which are inhabited by a majority of Poles, has already been recognized as a sovereign and independent state by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers; and

Whereas under the Treaty of Peace concluded with Germany by the Allied and Associated Powers, a treaty of which Poland is a signatory, certain portions of the former German Empire will be incorporated in the territory of Poland; and

Whereas under the terms of the said Treaty of Peace, the boundaries of Poland not already laid down are to be subsequently determined by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers;

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, on the one hand, confirming their recognition of the Polish state, constituted within the said limits as a sovereign and independent member of the family of nations, and being anxious to insure the execution of the provisions of Article 93 of the said Treaty of Peace with Germany;

Poland, on the other hand, desiring to conform her institutions to the principles of liberty and justice, and to give a sure guarantee to the inhabitants of the territory over which she has assumed sovereignty;

¹ British Treaty Series, No. 8, (1919), and Senate Document No. 82, 66th Congress, 1st Session. Not ratified at date of publication herein.

For this purpose the high contracting parties represented as follows:

The President of the United States of America, by:

The Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States,
acting in his own name and by his own proper authority;

The Honorable Robert Lansing, Secretary of State;

The Honorable Henry White, formerly Ambassador Extraordinary
and Plenipotentiary of the United States at Rome and Paris;

The Honorable Edward M. House;

General Tasker H. Bliss, Military Representative of the United
States on the Supreme War Council;

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Ireland and of the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, Em-
peror of India, by:

The Right Honorable David Lloyd George, M.P., First Lord of
His Treasury and Prime Minister;

The Right Honorable Andrew Bonar Law, M.P., His Lord Privy
Seal;

The Right Honorable Viscount Milner, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., His
Secretary of State for the Colonies;

The Right Honorable Arthur James Balfour, O.M., M.P., His
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

The Right Honorable George Nicoll Barnes, M.P., Minister with-
out portfolio;

And for the Dominion of Canada, by:

The Honorable Charles Joseph Doherty, Minister of Justice;

The Honorable Arthur Lewis Sifton, Minister of Customs;

For the Commonwealth of Australia, by:

The Right Honorable William Morris Hughes, Attorney-General
and Prime Minister;

The Right Honorable Sir Joseph Cook, G.C.M.G., Minister for the
Navy;

For the Union of South Africa, by:

General the Right Honorable Louis Botha, Minister of Native
Affairs and Prime Minister;

Lieutenant-General the Right Honorable Jan Christiaan Smuts,
K.C., Minister of Defence;

For the Dominion of New Zealand, by:

The Right Honorable William Ferguson Massey, Minister of Labor and Prime Minister;

For India, by:

The Right Honorable Edwin Samuel Montagu, M.P., His Secretary of State for India;

Major-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of Bikaner, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., A.D.C.;

The President of the French Republic, by:

Mr. Georges Clemenceau, President of the Council, Minister of War;

Mr. Stéphen Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

Mr. Louis Lucien Klotz, Minister of Finance;

Mr. André Tardieu, Commissary General for Franco-American Military Affairs;

Mr. Jules Cambon, Ambassador of France;

His Majesty the King of Italy, by:

Baron S. Sonnino, Deputy;

Marquis G. Imperiali, Senator, Ambassador of His Majesty the King of Italy at London;

Mr. S. Crespi, Deputy;

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, by:

Marquis Saionzi, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;

Baron Makino, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs, Member of the Diplomatic Council;

Viscount Chinda, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at London;

Mr. K. Matsui, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at Paris;

Mr. H. Ijuin, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at Rome;

The President of the Polish Republic, by:

Mr. Ignace J. Paderewski, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

Mr. Roman Dmowski, President of the Polish National Committee;
After having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

CHAPTER I.

ARTICLE 1.

Poland undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this chapter shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

ARTICLE 2.

Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Poland shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

ARTICLE 3.

Poland admits and declares to be Polish nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality German, Austrian, Hungarian or Russian nationals habitually resident at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty in territory which is or may be recognized as forming part of Poland, but subject to any provisions in the Treaties of Peace with Germany or Austria respectively relating to persons who become resident in such territory after a specified date.

Nevertheless, the persons referred to above who are over eighteen years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must, except where it is otherwise provided in the Treaty of Peace with Germany, transfer within the succeeding twelve months their place of residence to the state for which they have opted. They will be entitled

to retain their immovable property in Polish territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 4.

Poland admits and declares to be Polish nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality persons of German, Austrian, Hungarian or Russian nationality who were born in the said territory of parents habitually resident there, even if at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty they are not themselves habitually resident there.

Nevertheless, within two years after the coming into force of the present treaty, these persons may make a declaration before the competent Polish authorities in the country in which they are resident, stating that they abandon Polish nationality, and they will then cease to be considered as Polish nationals. In this connection a declaration by a husband will cover his wife, and a declaration by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

ARTICLE 5.

Poland undertakes to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the treaties concluded or to be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with Germany, Austria, Hungary or Russia, to choose whether or not they will acquire Polish nationality.

ARTICLE 6.

All persons born in Polish territory who are not born nationals of another State shall *ipso facto* become Polish nationals.

ARTICLE 7.

All Polish nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Polish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or

political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Polish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Polish Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Polish nationals of non-Polish speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

ARTICLE 8.

Polish nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Polish nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 9.

Poland will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Polish nationals of other than Polish speech are residents adequate facilities for insuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Polish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Polish Government from making the teaching of the Polish language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Polish nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the state, municipal or other budget, for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

The provisions of this Article shall apply to Polish citizens of German speech only in that part of Poland which was German territory on August 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 10.

Educational committees appointed locally by the Jewish communities of Poland will, subject to the general control of the state, provide for the distribution of the proportional share of public funds allocated to Jewish schools in accordance with Article 9, and for the organization and management of these schools.

The provisions of Article 9 concerning the use of languages in schools shall apply to these schools.

ARTICLE 11.

Jews shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their Sabbath, nor shall they be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend courts of law or to perform any legal business on their Sabbath. This provision, however, shall not exempt Jews from such obligations as shall be imposed upon all other Polish citizens for the necessary purposes of military service, national defence or the preservation of public order.

Poland declares her intention to refrain from ordering or permitting elections, whether general or local, to be held on a Saturday, nor will registration for electoral or other purposes be compelled to be performed on a Saturday.

ARTICLE 12.

Poland agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Poland agrees that any member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give

such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Poland further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of these articles between the Polish Government and any one of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers or any other Power, a member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Polish Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the Covenant.

CHAPTER II.

ARTICLE 13.

Each of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers on the one part and Poland on the other shall be at liberty to appoint diplomatic representatives to reside in their respective capitals, as well as consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls, and consular agents to reside in the towns and ports of their respective territories.

Consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls and consular agents, however, shall not enter upon their duties until they have been admitted in the usual manner by the government in the territory of which they are stationed.

Consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls and consular agents shall enjoy all the facilities, privileges, exemptions and immunities of every kind which are or shall be granted to consular officers of the most favored nation.

ARTICLE 14.

Pending the establishment of an import tariff by the Polish Government, goods originating in the Allied and Associated States shall not be subject to any higher duties on importation into Poland than the most favorable rates of duty applicable to goods of the same kind under either the German, Austro-Hungarian or Russian Customs Tariffs on July 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 15.

Poland undertakes to make no treaty, convention or arrangement and to take no other action which will prevent her from joining in any general agreement for the equitable treatment of the commerce of other states that may be concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations within five years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

Poland also undertakes to extend to all the Allied and Associated States any favors or privileges in customs matters which she may grant during the same period of five years to any state with which, since August, 1914, the Allies have been at war, or to any state which may have concluded with Austria special customs arrangements as provided for in the Treaty of Peace to be concluded with Austria.

ARTICLE 16.

Pending the conclusion of the general agreement referred to above, Poland undertakes to treat on the same footing as national vessels or vessels of the most favored nation the vessels of all the Allied and Associated States which accord similar treatment to Polish vessels.

By way of exception from this provision, the right of Poland or of any other Allied or Associated State to confine her maritime coasting trade to national vessels is expressly reserved.

ARTICLE 17.

Pending the conclusion under the auspices of the League of Nations of a general convention to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit, Poland undertakes to accord freedom of transit to persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails in transit to or from any Allied or Associated State over Polish territory, including territorial waters, and to treat them at least as favorably as the persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails respectively of Polish or of any other more favored nationality, origin, importation or ownership, as regards facilities, charges, restrictions, and all other matters.

All charges imposed in Poland on such traffic in transit shall be reasonable having regard to the conditions of the traffic. Goods in

transit shall be exempt from all customs or other duties. Tariffs for transit traffic across Poland and tariffs between Poland and any Allied or Associated Power involving through tickets or waybills shall be established at the request of that Allied or Associated Power.

Freedom of transit will extend to postal, telegraphic and telephonic services.

It is agreed that no Allied or Associated Power can claim the benefit of these provisions on behalf of any part of its territory in which reciprocal treatment is not accorded in respect of the same subject-matter.

If within a period of five years from the coming into force of the present treaty no general convention as aforesaid shall have been concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, Poland shall be at liberty at any time thereafter to give twelve months notice to the Secretary General of the League of Nations to terminate the obligations of this article.

ARTICLE 18.

Pending the conclusion of a general convention on the international régime of waterways, Poland undertakes to apply to the river system of the Vistula (including the Bug and the Narev) the régime applicable to international waterways set out in Articles 332 to 337 of the Treaty of Peace with Germany.

ARTICLE 19.

Poland undertakes to adhere within twelve months of the coming into force of the present treaty to the international conventions specified in Annex I.

Poland undertakes to adhere to any new convention, concluded with the approval of the Council of the League of Nations within five years of the coming into force of the present treaty, to replace any of the international instruments specified in Annex I.

The Polish Government undertakes within twelve months to notify the Secretary General of the League of Nations whether or not Poland desires to adhere to either or both of the international conventions specified in Annex II.

Until Poland has adhered to the two conventions last specified in Annex I, she agrees, on condition of reciprocity, to protect by effective

measures the industrial, literary and artistic property of nationals of the Allied and Associated States. In the case of any Allied or Associated State not adhering to the said conventions Poland agrees to continue to afford such effective protection on the same conditions until the conclusion of a special bi-lateral treaty or agreement for that purpose with such Allied or Associated State.

Pending her adhesion to the other conventions specified in Annex I, Poland will secure to the nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers the advantages to which they would be entitled under the said conventions.

Poland further agrees, on condition of reciprocity, to recognize and protect all rights in any industrial, literary or artistic property belonging to the nationals of the Allied and Associated States in force, or which but for the war would have been in force, in any part of her territories before transfer to Poland. For such purpose she will accord the extensions of time agreed to in Articles 307 and 308 of the treaty with Germany.

ANNEX I.

Telegraphic and Radio-Telegraphic Conventions.

International Telegraphic Convention signed at St. Petersburg, July 10-22, 1875.

Regulations and Tariffs drawn up by the International Telegraph Conference, signed at Lisbon, June 11, 1908.

International Radio-Telegraphic Convention, July 5, 1912.

Railway Conventions.

Conventions and arrangements signed at Berne on October 14, 1890, September 20, 1893, July 16, 1895, June 16, 1898, and September 19, 1906, and the current supplementary provisions made under those conventions.

Agreement of May 15, 1886, regarding the sealing of railway trucks subject to customs inspection, and protocol of May 18, 1907.

Agreement of May 15, 1886, regarding the technical standardization of railways, as modified on May 18, 1907.

Sanitary Convention.

Convention of December 3, 1903.

Other Conventions.

Convention of September 26, 1906, for the suppression of night work for women.

Convention of September 26, 1906, for the suppression of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

Convention of May 18, 1904, and May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of the white slave traffic.

Convention of May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of obscene publications.

International Convention of Paris of March 20, 1883, as revised at Washington in 1911, for the protection of industrial property.

International Convention of Berne of September 9, 1886, revised at Berlin on November 13, 1908, and completed by the Additional Protocol signed at Berne on March 20, 1914, for the protection of literary and artistic work.

ANNEX II.

Agreement of Madrid of April 14, 1891, for the prevention of false indications of origin on goods, revised at Washington in 1911, and

Agreement of Madrid of 14 April, 1891, for the international registration of trade marks, revised at Washington in 1911.

ARTICLE 20.

All rights and privileges accorded by the foregoing articles to the Allied and Associated States shall be accorded equally to all states members of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 21.

Poland agrees to assume responsibility for such proportion of the Russian public debt and other Russian public liabilities of any kind as may be assigned to her under a special convention between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers on the one hand and Poland on the other, to be prepared by a commission appointed by the above

states. In the event of the commission not arriving at an agreement the point at issue shall be referred for immediate arbitration to the League of Nations.

The present Treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified. It shall come into force at the same time as the Treaty of Peace with Germany.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Paris.

Powers of which the seat of the government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris that their ratification has been given; in that case they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

A *procès-verbal* of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up.

The French Government will transmit to all the signatory Powers a certified copy of the *procès-verbal* of the deposit of ratifications.

In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

Done at Versailles, the twenty-eighth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the signatory Powers.

(L. S.) WOODROW WILSON.
(L. S.) ROBERT LANSING.
(L. S.) HENRY WHITE.
(L. S.) E. M. HOUSE.
(L. S.) TASKER H. BLISS.
(L. S.) D. LLOYD GEORGE.
(L. S.) A. BONAR LAW.
(L. S.) MILNER.
(L. S.) ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.
(L. S.) GEORGE N. BARNES.
(L. S.) CHAS. J. DOHERTY.
(L. S.) ARTHUR L. SIFTON.
(L. S.) W. M. HUGHES.
(L. S.) JOSEPH COOK.
(L. S.) LOUIS BOTHA.
(L. S.) J. C. SMUTS.
(L. S.)

- (L. S.) ED. S. MONTAGU.
- (L. S.) GANGA SINGH, MAHARAJA DE BIKANER.
- (L. S.) G. CLEMENCEAU.
- (L. S.) S. PICHON.
- (L. S.) L. L. KLOTZ.
- (L. S.) ANDRÉ TARDIEU.
- (L. S.) JULES CAMBON.
- (L. S.) SIDNEY SONNINO.
- (L. S.) IMPERIALI.
- (L. S.) SILVIO CRESPI.
- (L. S.) SAIONZI.
- (L. S.) N. MAKINO.
- (L. S.) H. CHINDA.
- (L. S.) K. MATSUI.
- (L. S.) H. IJUIN.
- (L. S.) I. J. PADEREWSKI.
- (L. S.) ROMAN DMOWSKI.

THE PACT OF LONDON.

*The Text of the Alleged Treaty Between the Allies and Italy, of April 26, 1915, as Published in the Russian Secret Document Series.*¹

The Italian Ambassador in London, Marchese Imperiali, on instructions from his government, has the honor to communicate to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey, to the French Ambassador, M. Cambon, and to the Russian Ambassador, Count Benckendorff, the following memorandum:

I. The great Powers of France, Great Britain, Russia and Italy shall, without delay, draw up a military convention, by which are to be determined the minimum of military forces which Russia will be bound to place against Austria-Hungary, in the event of the latter throwing all her forces against Italy. This military convention will also regulate the problems relating to a possible armistice, in so far as these do not by their very nature fall within the competence of the Supreme Command.

II. Italy on her part undertakes to conduct the war with all

¹ Reprinted from the *New Europe*, January 17, 1918.

means at her disposal, in agreement with France, Great Britain, and Russia, and against the states which are at war with them.

III. The naval forces of France and Great Britain will lend Italy their active coöperation until such time as the Austrian fleet shall be destroyed, or till the conclusion of peace. France, Great Britain, and Italy shall in this connection conclude without delay a naval convention.

IV. By the future treaty of peace Italy shall receive: the Trentino; the whole of Southern Tyrol, as far as its natural and geographical frontier, the Brenner; the city of Trieste and its surroundings; the county of Gorizia and Gradisca; the whole of Istria as far as the Quarnero, including Volosca and the Istrian Islands, Cherso and Lussin, as also the lesser islands of Plavnik, Unia, Canidoli, Palazuola, S. Pietro Nerovio, Asinello and Grucia, with their neighboring islets.

NOTE 1.—In carrying out what is said in Article IV the frontier line shall be drawn along the following points: from the summit of Umbrile northwards to the Stelvio, then along the watershed of the Rhætian Alps as far as the sources of the rivers Adige and Eisach, then across the Mounts Reschen and Brenner and the Etz and Ziller peaks. The frontier then turns southward, touching Mount Toblach, in order to reach the present frontier of Carniola, which is near the Alps. Along this frontier the line will reach Mount Tarvis and will follow the watershed of the Julian Alps beyond the crests of Predil, Mangart, and Tricorno, and the passes of Podberdo, Podlansko, and Idria. From here the line will turn in a southeast direction toward the Schneeberg, in such a way as not to include the basin of the Save and its tributaries in Italian territory. From the Schneeberg the frontier will descend toward the sea-coast, including, Castua, Matuglia and Volosca as Italian districts.

V. In the same way Italy shall receive the province of Dalmatia in its present extent, including further to the north *Lissarika and Trebinje* (*i.e.*, two small places in Southwest Croatia), and to the south all places as far as a line starting from the sea close to Cape Planka (between Traù and Sebenico) and following the watershed eastward in such a way as to place in Italian hands all the valleys whose rivers enter the sea near Sebenico—namely, the Cikola, Krka and Butisnjica, with their tributaries. To Italy also will belong all the islands north and west of the Dalmatian coast, beginning with

Premuda, Selve, Ulbo, Skerda, Maon, Pago and Puntadura, and further north, and reaching to Meleda southward, with the addition of the islands of S. Andrea, Busi, Lissa, Lesina, Tercola, Curzola, Cazza and Lagosta and all the surrounding islets and rocks, and hence Pelagosa also, but without the islands of Grande and Piccola Zirona, Buje, Solta, and Brazza.

The following shall be neutralized: (1) The whole coast from Cape Planka on the north to the southern point of the peninsula of Sabbioncello on the south, this peninsula being included in the neutral zone. (2) Part of the coast from a point 10 kilometres south of Ragusavecchia as far as the river *Vojussa* on the south, so as to include in the neutralized zone the whole gulf of Cattaro with its ports, *Antivari*, *Dulcigno*, *S. Giovanni di Medua*, and *Durazzo*; with the reservation that Montenegro's rights are not to be infringed, in so far as they are based on the declarations exchanged between the contracting parties in April and May, 1909. These rights being recognized solely for Montenegro's present possessions, they shall not be extended to such regions and ports as may in the future be assigned to Montenegro. Hence no part of the coast which today belongs to Montenegro shall be subject to neutralization in future. But all legal restrictions regarding the port of Antivari—to which Montenegro herself gave her adhesion in 1909—remain in vigor. (3) All the islands not assigned to Italy.

NOTE 2.—The following districts on the Adriatic shall by the work of the Entente Powers be included in the territory of Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro: To the north of the Adriatic the whole coast beginning at the Gulf of Volosca, near the frontier of Italy, as far as the northern frontier of Dalmatia, including the whole coast today belonging to Hungary; the whole coast of Croatia, the port of Fiume, and the small ports of Nevi and Carlopago, and in the same way the islands of Veglia, Pervicio, Gregorio, Kali and Arbe: to the south of the Adriatic, where Serbia and Montenegro are interested, the whole coast from Cape Planka to the river Drin, with the very important ports of Spalato, Ragusa, Cattaro, Antivari, Dulcigno and S. Giovanni di Medua, as also the islands of Grande and Piccola Zirona, Buja, Solta, Brazza, Cikljan and Calamotta.

The port of Durazzo can be assigned to the independent Mohammedan state of Albania.

VI. Italy shall obtain in full ownership Valona, the Island of

Saseno and territory of sufficient extent to assure her against dangers of a military kind—approximately between the River Vojussa to the north and east, and the district of Shimar to the south.

VII. Having obtained Trentino and Istria by Article IV, Dalmatia and the Adriatic islands by Article V, and also the Gulf of Valona, Italy undertakes, in the event of a small autonomous and neutralized state being formed in Albania, not to oppose the possible desire of France, Great Britain and Russia to partition the northern and southern districts of Albania between Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece. The southern coast of Albania, from the frontier of the Italian territory of Valona to Cape Stilos, is to be neutralized.

To Italy will be conceded the right of conducting the foreign relations of Albania; in any case Italy will be bound to secure for Albania a territory sufficiently extensive to enable its frontiers to join those of Greece and Serbia to the east of Lake of Ohrida.

VIII. Italy shall obtain full possession of all islands of the Dodecanese, at present occupied by her.

IX. France, Great Britain, and Russia recognize as an axiom the fact that Italy is interested in maintaining the political balance of power in the Mediterranean, and her right to take over, when Turkey is broken up, a portion equal to theirs in the Mediterranean—namely, in that part which borders on the province of Adalia, where Italy had already acquired special rights and interests laid down in the Italo-British convention. The zone to be assigned to Italy will, in due course, be fixed in accordance with the vital interests of France and Great Britain. In the same way regard must be had for the interests of Italy, even in the event of the Powers maintaining for a further period of time the inviolability of Asiatic Turkey, and merely proceeding to map out spheres of interest among themselves. In the event of France, Great Britain and Russia occupying during the present war districts of Asiatic Turkey, the whole district bordering on Adalia and defined above in greater detail, shall be reserved to Italy, who reserves the right to occupy it.

X. In Libya Italy obtains recognition of all those rights and prerogatives hitherto reserved to the Sultan by the Treaty of Lausanne.

XI. Italy shall receive a military contribution corresponding to her strength and sacrifices.

XII. Italy associates herself with the declaration made by France,

Great Britain, and Russia, by which the Mohammedan holy places are to be left in the possession of an independent Mohammedan state.

XIII. In the event of an extension of the French and British colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany, France and Great Britain recognize to Italy in principle the right of demanding for herself certain compensations, in the form of an extension of her possessions in Eritrea, Somaliland, Libya, and the colonial districts bordering on French and British colonies.

XIV. Great Britain undertakes to facilitate for Italy without delay and on favorable conditions the conclusion of a loan in the London market, amounting to not less than £50,000,000.

XV. France, Great Britain, and Russia undertake to support Italy, in so far as she does not permit the representatives of the Holy See to take diplomatic action with regard to the conclusion of peace and the regulation of questions connected with the war.

XVI. The present treaty is to be kept secret. As regards Italy's adherence to the declaration of 5 September, 1914, this shall only be published after the declaration of war by and upon Italy.

The representatives of France, Great Britain, and Russia, having taken cognizance of this memorandum, and being furnished with powers for this purpose, agreed as follows with the representative of Italy, who was also authorized by his government for this purpose:

France, Great Britain, and Russia declare their full agreement with the present memorandum presented to them by the Italian Government. With regard to points I, II, and III (relating to the co-ordination of the military and naval operations of all four Powers), Italy declares that she will enter the war actively as soon as possible, and in any case not later than one month after the signature of the present document on behalf of the contracting parties.

(Signed in four copies, 26 April, 1915)

EDWARD GREY,
JULES CAMBON,
IMPERIALI,
BENCKENDORFF.